1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porowet*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees": the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

AGRICULTURE

The Dorobo began to cultivate in a small way about 30 years ago (or even a little earlier) and at first they grew only eleusine. Though their inclinations were to become cattle-owners, conditions were unfavourable to the development of cattle-breeding as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a serious business; for the methods, implements, and even the seed used in this, they have been indebted to the Nandi.

Land

Those who live in A and B domicile categories (with whom alone we are concerned here) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the forest. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Kenya law, if they live there as squatters under the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance. Their plots, *imbaret*, pl. *imbarenik*, range in size from one acre divided into four individual holdings, to half an acre divided into four holdings; in other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and sometimes a living-hut is built inside the fenced area; occasionally it was found that elderly Dorobo were allowed by Nandi squatters to have a little piece of their cultivated land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Dorobo land question was discussed, seemed not unwilling to let the Dorobo live unmolested on their land provided they gave no trouble; but the government authorities thought otherwise, and the position of a Dorobo who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on what he considered his own land was thus precarious.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

Two main crops are grown, eleusine, *paiek*, and maize, *ipandek*. Millet had not been grown by 1940, though they bought it from the Nandi. Sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the heart-shaped hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Nandi. They have also small axes, *ndolut*, and knives, *roluet* or *cambolust*.

The growing of crops is regulated by the dry and wet seasons, *muainonik*, from October to March, and *iwotet*, from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivation follows the Nandi method, with paring and burning of new land. The seed of eleusine and maize is bought from the Nandi, usually from squatters living nearby. Maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot, though potatoes are generally grown separately. Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi manner by cutting off the heads; maize is picked by hand. Granaries of Nandi type are sometimes made, but are seldom needed, as the yields are so small that the loft of a hut can generally hold all that is not eaten on the field (as is often the case with maize). Cereals are roughly ground on slabs of granite in the Nandi manner.

Food

Food in the old days consisted mainly of meat supplemented by honey, wild vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Nandi. The food supply is now based on their own agricultural produce, supplemented by milk when they have any, and by certain other foods when they can be got. Meat is still obtained by trapping, though seldom by hunting; it includes the flesh of antelopes, monkeys, pigs, and leopards. Honey is got, as already described, from honey-barrels. Wild food, collected in the forest, includes fruit of the *momoniat* (*rubus rigidus*), *lemeiyuet* (*ximenia americana*), and *sasuriet* (*musa ensete*, wild banana), the sap of the *sasuriet*, and leaves of nettle, *sinot*.

Intoxicating drink is of two kinds: the Dorobo honey-wine, *kipketinik* or *kumik ap lo*, made from honey, and fermented with the long seed-pods of the "sausage

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[262] [273] true," *rotinust* (*higelia athiopica*); and *maiyek*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lokomek*.

Trade and Exchange

● 439 The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were [648] almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, [177] the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, [582] for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with [181] the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi [186] fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and [437] honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

[935]
1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

[415] The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

231 [177] [648] The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpai	11	0	0
	90	34	7

[171] Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

l: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, "If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *keriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kuyeyda*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kwiet* tree (*Acokanthera* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *iset*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, or from bamboo, *sosiyet*; arrow-heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *kelket* bush (*Acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kevepet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *sosiet*, and sewn with bast made from a plant called *taparuriet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepengwet* (*aemilia integrifolia*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white earth, *eworiot*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a carrying-net called *lekuelet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 in. long with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, ipiiyec panyek*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Arawa* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *cesowiinik*, a word which includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *masambaanik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *lokumek* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *sakeywot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoiik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukuyeet* (*dracaena* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

1:Huntingford K-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

THE DOROBO OF KIDOI (KERUTA)

History

101 The group described by Lambert as living at Kaditu on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Lumbwa, is first classed as Kidoi in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mkondoi (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food, bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo lost completely lost their land by 1902 when Tribal reserves through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

[839]

648

Organization

621 There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called Mwenkindet, as among the Kipkoreek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-ghotet*, derived from the Masai *ol-gotet*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gotin*, which means not " clan," but " side path."

614

Religion

NK 969 113 A so-called supreme being called *Torrorit*[4] is recognized, and the elements describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

Source: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 47, 48.

[1] 51.91, p. 6.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 393.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1934, p. 46.
[4] = Nandi *ngor*, " storm ".

2: Maguire G-5 (n.s. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstances.

A small supply of *kombi* poison (*ngwana*) is sometimes carried in the keel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriakyat*) and a fire-block (*ensemia*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kwaiiwandet*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *ensata nitiit*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a pea-shooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endaire*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endaire* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blast or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five cows. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

[2] Literally, "Small knife."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

II.—Mode of Subsistence.

Houses.

342 [361] The Dorobo live in little shelters or huts (*kenkenyot*, pl. *kenkenyotik*; N. *kwiq*) built in small clearings in the forest; they are made of a framework of sticks stuck in the ground, and bent over, forming a domed roof; the whole is covered on the outside with leaves of trees and banana leaves, which are insufficient, in spite of the addition of an ox-hide on the top, to keep the hut dry inside when it rains. The upright sticks are strengthened by others tied across them with tree-rope. The huts are oblong, with rounded ends, and are of the following average dimensions:—Height, 5 ft. 10 ins.; width, 7 ft. 6 ins.; length, 11 ft. They are occupied for two or three months, after which they become ruinous and "full of fleas," when the [590] family moves to a fresh site. Two to four people live in one hut. One group of huts we saw contained two huts, and had contained a third which had been pulled down. The huts are divided into two parts, the *sleeping-place* (*ilkito*, N.) and the [353] *fire-place*, which are separated by two or three poles laid across the floor of the hut, [513] on one side of which are laid ox-hides (*muteik*; N. *muiwik*), upon which the occupants eat and sleep; at night they cover themselves with skins. In the other half of the hut is the door (*kurbat*, N.), about 2 ft. high. Some huts have two doors, opposite [354] each other. Between the door and the *sleeping-place* is the hearth (*mik*, N.), consisting of two or three smallish stones set on the floor. A loft (*saiwat*, N.) is sometimes made in this part of the hut, extending across the whole [illegible] beginning of the sleeping-place. The loft is about 3 ft. 6 ins. above the floor, and [251] is made of thin sticks supported on thicker cross-sticks, and tied together with [378] tree-rope. Upon it are kept firewood and *olmisiu* grain (Text-figs. 30-32). The [412] only household utensils are a small broom (*sellutiet*) about 14 ins. long, made of [415] a hook-bark's tail fastened to a thin wooden handle, for sweeping the floor; "water jars" (*soiget*) made of a hollowed piece of bamboo about 2½ ins. wide and 2 ft. 6 ins. long; a grindstone (*lolto*, N.) made of granite, for sharpening knives, and for grinding *olmisiu* grain. Gourds and earthenware pots are obtained from the [439] Nandi; the Dorobo have no stools. Fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*pilmet*; 372 N. *pilmet*) (Text-figs. 11a, 11b). A thin stick of the *olmorut* tree (N.),[1] about 12 ins. long and ½ in. thick, is stood upright on a stick of *ondoi* (*nut*)[2] about 20 ins. long and 1 in. wide. The thin stick is called *pilmet*, the *ondoi* stick *tasumet*. The *pilmet* is held between the palms of the hands, and the hands are rapidly rubbed together, beginning at the top of the *pilmet* and working downwards (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2). This is repeated until fire is obtained; the *pilmet* drills a hole in the *tasumet*, and the heated wood-dust thus produced falls on to a knife-blade which is placed underneath. When sufficient heat is obtained it is laid on a small bundle of *tinder* (*soiget* (dry grass) or fibre of the *pesiwet*[3] tree), and blown till the tinder kindles.

[1] *Ficus* sp. [2] *Juniperus procera*. [3] *Dombeya* sp.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The women
prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. 264
At the present day the Dorobo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed [462]
on grindstones (*lóito*, N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they 251
obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and 262
is called *kípketinik* (N.). Tobacco (*tomotet*, N.; or *chepkuchóiz*,[1] N.) is bought 273
from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either 276
chewed (*wit*, N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes (*sotbuik-ap-tomotet*, or *kwotinik*, N.), [434]
which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical
boxes called *kípsomoi* (N. *kípsot*) (Text-fig. 22), made from *sosiyot* (bamboo), [415]
with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by
which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorobo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During 231
the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have 241
taken to cultivating small plantations (*imbwet*, N.), in which they grow eleusine 178
grain (*ulhuiyét*, or *paiot*; N. *pili*) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or
two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 8 to 10 head.
The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

671
Warriors wear skin garments of dulker (*sapmwogo*,[3] N.) called *akwiet*; they wear
leg-bells attached to a leather band (*sapiitha*,[4] pl. *sapiitháinik*) on the ankles.
Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth (*angot*, N.) dyed brown.[5] Old men
wear bush-buck skins (*akwiet*) with the fur left on. Caps (*ingwenit*?) are worn, of
blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors.
Belts (*ontenit*?) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors.
Necklaces of chains (*siriondo*, N.) or iron-wire (*aniegwit*, N.) are worn; also various [301]
kinds of iron ear-rings (*ndeimeriat*? and *kiwa-tinik* (Text-figs. 13-17); N. *kimá-*
tetiat) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of
Nandi women. They wear skirts (*ákeptinjuit*; N. *chepkunit*) and upper garments
(*kaldiet*, N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the
Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets (*mukwenhuk*
and *kwrik*, N.), and wire necklaces (*aniegwit*, pl. *aniegwáinik*, N.). Married women wear [301]

[1] Chepkuchóit means "smell" in Nandi.

[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably [111]
borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorobo.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

291
301 large discs of brass wire (*tost*, pl. *tuk*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*muilto*; N. *muito*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*sekerick*; N. *sekerek*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*aluriet*) or cloth (*anget*). They have armlets (*kurik*, N.) and leglets (*udapalwet*; N. *tapalwet*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*asingait*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*engeberit*; Kony *ingeberit*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorôbo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*kutik ap iitik*, N.), as among the Nandi.
[301] Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorôbo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko-kororon-it piik*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (*See* V, "Circumcision.")

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngarset*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as seen often on Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is seen trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

325 The Dorôbo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metal-
[439] lurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(c) Weapons of Chase and War.

411 These consist of bows (*bogulgulo*), arrows (*ldeiek*, *kipurtuik*, *kipukdpuuik*, N.; and *ndwantit*); spears (*almurundoit* or *murundoit*?); swords (*susulto*; or *ratuet*, N.); shields (*ledget*, N.); and knives (*skambulwat*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 *Bows.*—These are made from the kuriot (N.) tree, and average 5 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (*inet*, N.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig [237] (*tumda*, N.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

Arrows.—The iron heads (*kipchápet*) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually [439] of the Nandi shapes called chepilofigiot (Text-fig. 5) and kipchapet (Text-fig. 6) (H.N. Figs. 33, 34). They are from 2½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 9) and bound with fibre or skin binding (*simolto*). The shafts are made of the sosoiyat (bamboo), masaita, and koromandet trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (*kororik*, N.), which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 8). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin *simolto*; the notch (*saita*) is shouldered, and bound over the shoulder with a skin *simolto*. The length of the feathers is 2 ins. to 2¾ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (*mootiet* N.; *mboilgit*) of leather, and about 2 ft. 3½ ins. long, with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorobo for shooting with the bow, *see* H.N., Pl. VII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins., and are about 1¼ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spiral marks cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (*shokit*, N.) which are attached to leather belts (*tapsienet*, N.) (Text-fig. 3).

(*b*) Leather.

281 Skins are dressed and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called motok[illegible]
415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the f[illegible] removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. *kips*[illegible] blue duiker) with the fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a [480] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 12). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(*c*) Baskets (*kereget*, pl. *kereponik* (N.)).

285 [469] These are made by the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name. The upright straws in the baskets are called taparik; the cross straws, sosik (N. = *Phœnix reclinata* palm). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 6 ins., width at top 6½ ins. (Text-fig. 21).

(*d*) Miscellaneous.

482 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called lekwelet (N.) is used (Text-fig. 23). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis-rackets fastened

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*litîto*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *koret*, pl. *korosuek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekat*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kámellio-Kápchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parñgetuny[3] arap Ñgamñgam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ñgelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruogat ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have passed on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kapcepkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandorobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [3], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumcisor by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.
2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).
3. Some relationship terms.
4. The age-set system, and circumcision.
5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.
6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[3] Vocabulary of the Enguțuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text Continues on P. 126--Analyst]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *koret* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *koret* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *koret* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *koret* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper [4], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *murenik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[4] Anthropos 46. 1951. pp. 38-41.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

805 [221] [224] [132] The Dorobo divide the year into two parts, *Muainonik*, the dry season, when they used to go hunting the bigger game with bow and arrow; and *Iuot*, the wet season, when they set traps. Each season covers roughly half the year, the rain beginning to tail off in September and getting less and less till January, and then starting to work up again in March, reaching its peak about May; so that *Muainonik* comprises our months of October to March, and *Iuot*, April to September. The Dorobo have twelve months, all but two having the same names as the Nandi months, but they do not synchronize [4]:

Dorobo names:	Nandi names:		
Kipiriruo	*Kipsundet*	October	
Kipsundet	*Kipsundet oiew*	November	
Kipsundet ake	*Mulkul*	December	Muainonik
Mulkul	*Ngotiotet* *	January	
Ngotiotet *	*Kiptamo*	February	
Kiptamo	*Iwat kut*	March	
Iwat kut	*Waket*	April	
Waket	*Ngei* *	May	
Mamut	*Rop tui*	June	Iuot
Rop tui	*Puret*	July	
Pureto	*Epeso*	August	
Yepeset	*Mulkul oiew*	September	

132 The average rainfall at Kapchorua Farm, about two miles below the edge of the forest for the years 1929 to 1937 was 54.09 inches, the maximum being 66.17, the minimum 28.61. Details are given in the Appendix. In the forest itself I think the rainfall is undoubtedly a little higher, perhaps amounting to another 2-3 ins. in the course of an average year.

821 The Dorobo seem to have a better weather sense than the Nandi, and I found that they were generally accurate when making a forecast, whereas the Nandi are usually wrong when they try to foretell the weather. This weather sense is perhaps one of the reasons for their reputation among other [791] tribes as rainmakers; for these Dorobo not only say that they have no rainmakers, but I could find no trace whatever of rainmaking activities, nor any hint that they ever had any. Climatic conditions are such, however, that in a hunting economy rainmaking is not a necessity.

433 [311] [325] The environment of the Dorobo provides them with food, skins, wood, and other vegetable materials. Iron they had not, and they still have no knowledge of ironworking, though they use iron implements. Their activities comprised hunting, trapping, food-gathering, hut-building, the production of honey, and the making of objects of wood, leather, and grass, such as traps, arrow-shafts, bows, honey-barrels, clothing, caps, baskets, and handles for tools. ●439 Objects of iron they have got for as far back as they can remember from the Nandi by exchange for such things as they can make or produce themselves.

104 [4] Throughout this paper I have written the velar nasal by the sign ŋ, representing the "long-tailed n". In words marked * the first consonant is the velar nasal.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in § 2 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *silotik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *momonyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyuet*, ximenia americana.
Fruit of the *sasuriet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siuot*, girardinia condensata, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*sainet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepenguet* bush (aemilia integrifolia), or of the *serenguet* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little eleusine beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipketinik* or *kumik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *rotinuet* tree (kigelia aethiopica or the sausage tree), which may be as much as a foot long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kenam rotik, kepele mat si kokerer;
They-are-taken the-seed-pods, they-are-boiled-on the-fire that they-may-be-split;
kiune ilosto si kipete tukuk ce somisec kul
they-are-washed-in the-river that they-may-be-lost the-things which-are dirty till
kepumbunit. Kema si keyomio. Kiinde teret
they-become-soft. They-are-put-in-the-sun that they-may-dry. They-are-put-into the-po
ole mii kumiat puc, si konuanit, kiinde eŋgaret
where there-is the-honey only, that it-may-become-bitter, there-is-put the-wate

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual in the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumuren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepsuku, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepsuku himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkorom, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every women learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, roofs, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kuriot (teclea sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Koromandet: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Ketuyuwet: traps.
Kimolnet (vangueria edulis): traps.
Keliot (acocanthera Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekuet (dracaena sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipsepuet (tilia sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Marorta: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasuriet (wild banana, musa ensete): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetuet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Poroet (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Oltamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasieh: fire-wood.
Coruet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[*] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[278] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Silotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[241] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
Pig-gut : bow-strings.
[411] Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *herepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci hereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[1] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [*] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[1] [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

wants it, i. e. as the loose end gets thin, a new end is shoved under the binding; the bast is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type, and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shoved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by chewing off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket. 285

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, *motoket*, are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e. g. blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck. 281 [462] [415] [283] [412] 415 [825] [276]

The nature of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Nandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1939 some of these values were: 434 435

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey.
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kerepet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kerepet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
434 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruos in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruos ; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number : 1. House-building ; 2. Hunting ; 3. Digging earth ; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[317] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give
[241] confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules ; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

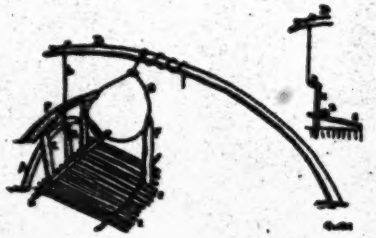

Fig. 5. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana *b* is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made, all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 [221] The planting and reaping periods vary according as the rains are early or late. Between them there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Dorobo grow two main crops, *pêk* or *paiek*, eleusine coracana (commonly known in Kenya as *wimbi*), a short gramineous plant bearing a head composed of small grains; and *ipandek*, maize. Millet had not been [439] adopted by 1939 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be bought from the Nandi. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *ropoonik*, are grown to a small extent.

[412] [439] Implements are confined to the hoe (*mokombet*), axe (*ndolut*), and ordinary knife (*cambolucl* or *rotuet*), though the use of the *panga* or cutlass is spreading. Hoe-blades (made by Nandi smiths) and *pangas* (sold by traders) are got from the Nandi in exchange for baskets, honey, or skins. The bill-hook, though used by the Nandi had not been adopted by the Dorobo in 1939.

The ground is prepared in the same way as by the Nandi. The top soil is dug with the hoe, collected into small heaps, and fired; it is left smouldering for several days and the burnt earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of maize and eleusine is [439] bought from any Nandi who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous [435] squatters on the nearby farms [19]. The Dorobo get two basketfuls in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (when not got in the same way) are generally grown by themselves, but maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot so that the eleusine grows up between the maize plants. Maize has thus to be sown wider than is really economic, but it is a Nandi habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening spaces are partially covered and thus there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clean, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process repeated if the land gets very dirty.

[417] Each shamba is surrounded by a fence made of thorns and bushes, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or stumps are included in the fence when they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gate formed of movable upright poles, like the gate of a Nandi cattle enclosure, but usually the line of fence is unbroken, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the thorns.

243 Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi fashion by cutting off the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the shamba is to be planted again. Maize is picked by hand, but in 1938 it was largely eaten on the field as the cobs developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1938, however, some [177] Dorobo at Kipukua, noticing the European practice of stooking maize in rows before it is ripe, cut and stooked their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose object

[19] A Squatter is a "resident native labourer" living on a farm under contract with the employer.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible [89]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*liteito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*ingunek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[89] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241
[361]

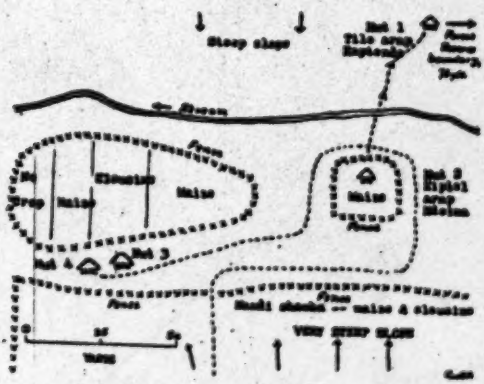

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo Shamba at Kelpui alongside a Nandi Shamba.

at Kipukua in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kesenïat*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; [648] and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 6).

317 Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tambarua*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging [482] stick, *kamet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth- [423] producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be 439 verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them 435 at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *erokoit*, is used 302 mixed with fat (or sometimes *simsim* oil) for rubbing on the head; white 789 earth, *euoriot*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

231 If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose 177 primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented 181 themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the [556] possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i. e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *cornet*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minis became the friend of a Nandi at Ofieson called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korucu in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *tisiet* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkurir arap Serem on Farm 1479: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korucu being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

beer called *mo* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Lembweng*, when there are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months: *Lemeru*, a time of rain; and *Leishatte*, a time of much rain.

The Calendar.—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for any informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Lebrupe.	*Lembweng.*	*Lebrupe.*	*Lebrupe.*	*Lembweng.*
Lemeku.	*Lebrupe.*	*Lembweng.*	*Lembweng.*	*Lemeru.*
Lemeru.	*Leishatte.*	*Leishatte.*	*Leishatte.*	*Leishatte.*
	Lemeru.	*Lemeru.*	*Lemeru.*	

Food.—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivorous of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Dodoths say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and locusts are not far and wide in the town.

Division of Labour.—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is weed cutting and circulation on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

Recreations.—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

Manufactures.—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodoths in exchange for tobacco. Their shields (*kwee*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*kiri*) come from the Dodoth cemetery, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing spear. These, it may be noted, are the only trophy spears I saw in Kavirondo. They are headmarks (*ankidokong*) of Dodothic origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world, they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

/54/

58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo have so stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-okeeboo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes...[illegible] in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where these animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwindo or the peasant some Mwaki signifies a Mwindo who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwindo, while Dorobo signifies a Mwindo (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

B.Lambert--2 C-5 (ca. 1930-1949) 1950 FLS Dorobo FLS

/34 cont'd/

to the dense forests of Kenia and Kilimanjaro, the forest-clad escarpments of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Marsabit, Chibcharagua-ni, Baro, Dondera etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /35/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders: usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Masai-ni, a very large village of [illegible] gives up hunting, and almost entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their connections with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Eastern Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means arrow fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Ari and the Kikuyu call them Aciri. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Aciri."

/58 cont'd/

intravenously by wholesale rape rather than transfused by peaceful penetration, raised a type of humankind (some of the tribes we have with us today) inferior to themselves. There is very little in general principle common to these two views except that the Dorobo, if it interests them, can claim some small degree of aboriginality in both.

64. Dr. L.S.B. Leakey told the Land Commission:-

"... there are Dorobo and Dorobo. There are Dorobo who are the nucleus of the Dorobo and are a tribe quite distinct from anything I know in this country. They speak a language which I have completely failed to connect up with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes here. There are two or three families living on the Mau today. Round that nucleus you have deserters from Masai, Kikuyu, Nandi, Lumbwa, and all sorts of other people. You thus come across a mixed Dorobo people who have left their tribes and become Dorobo in the wide sense. Up behind Kijabe there are innumerable families, half true Dorobo and half Kikuyu .... They call themselves Kikuyu, but live like Dorobo ..."

65. Modern Kikuyu opinion among the older men is that the Dorobo, though legends suggest a remote relationship with the Kikuyu as well as others, were a separate tribe, speaking a language of their own, who subsequently became mixed up with other people who adopted their way of life. Some identify them with the Il-Kunono of the Masai, but the Dorobo of Karura repudiate this and point out that there were no smiths among them and that they bought their spears and iron implements from the Masai and, later on, the Kikuyu. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, however, regards the Dorobo as a Kikuyu-Gumba blend. In Facing Mount Kenya he writes:

"... soon after the Gumba had disappeared as a race, there came into being another race of hunters known as Ndorobo or Aathi, who seemed to have grown like mushrooms in the forests.

Gdambwi--13 G-S (ca. 1935-1969) 1950 F16 Dorobo F16

/50 cont'd/

from the north and east which forced the Bantu /51/ immigrants in turn to settle down to a more intensive agricultural life in the higher, safer country, where by an exploitation of the forest soils a density of population hitherto unknown in Eastern Africa could be maintained by shifting cultivation. One can well imagine that this change in subsistence-culture was not an altogether welcome one to the Bantu tribes who had hitherto lived on game and other natural produce of the plains and occasionally reaped, perhaps, some short-term annual. Increasing population-density as well as virile enemies had forced a settled life of agricultural drudgery on the Bantu, especially on their women. Many, no doubt, would try to retain the freedom of the former life by wandering in the forests and any other kind of country still unoccupied, provided an adequate supply of game and water could be found there. So there would be some slight degree of inter-penetration and intermarriage, and the pre-Dorobo tribe would undergo some change from blood-infusions of a Bantu type. Others of the pre-Dorobo tribe would find themselves excluded from the lower forests by the increasing mass of Bantu immigrants and, to a large extent, excluded from the plains as well, by Hamite tribes with mobile armies well organized for war and raptue. These others would, no doubt, either be destroyed or move still further off or, if they stayed and managed to survive, be relegated to a state of semi-serfdom[1].

1. So one hears of Nandi Dorobo, Kikuyu Dorobo, Lumbwa Dorobo, and so on. The "Dorobo Commission" remarked that the Sanye were actually slaves of the Galla and had for ages acted as their hunters and that those living in the Giriama Reserve had passed from the ownership of the Galla to that of the Giriama. But probably protection would be a better word than ownership, the relationship being a symbiotic one on ostensibly equal terms, for as the Commission remarked the Sanye supplied ivory and meat to the Giriama in exchange for beer, poison and maize. The position of all such Dorobo appears to be dependence on the protecting race for livelihood, whereas the protecting race merely depends to some extent on the Dorobo for hunting and service. The institution of "Sheger" among Somalis and similar peoples seems to involve the same idea of inverse status and dependence of the Sheger section, who none the less retain a theoretical freedom in the body politic.

/83 cont'd/

"There are nine groups of true Dorobo in Kenya Colony, and a tenth, called Il-Mukogodo, who do not appear to be true Dorobo."

648
101

That the Mwimbi had a good deal more intercourse with the Dorobo or the Mweiko or both than they are prepared to admit in open baraza seems to be indicated by the fact that the Meru proper associate the Mwimbi with the Dorobo and call the Il-Imwesi the Mwethi or the Mwimbi Dorobo, and say that the present Mukogodo, whom they sometimes call Mukuru, contain numbers of Mwimbi Dorobo and some Mwimbi who went off with them. A Mwimbi elder told me (not in open baraza) that not long ago there were Dorobo living close to the Mwimbi and trading skins with them for grain. Their leader was named Thiathui or Chachui and he went off somewhere to the north with most of his people.

[494]

/84/ 72. Dorobo and Chuka, etc.

There is very little evidence of any contact between the Dorobo and the Mothambi, Chuka, Embu or Mbere tribes. No doubt there had been such contact in the past, but possibly it was so long ago and so slight that any memory of it had faded before the European occupation. But that the minor tribes knew of the Dorobo is evident from the fact that they distinguished them from the Gumba in answer to Major Orde Browne's enquiries. It may be that the east and south-east of the mountain had not been occupied by the Dorobo at all or, more probably, that there was so little distinction between the minor tribes and the Dorobo in general culture and appearance that the latter left a less lasting impression on the tribal memory than the very much more primitive and strikingly different Bushmen. Since the ice there is credible evidence (put advanced by the Embu) of a Dorobo settlement near Manyatta Camp in the Embu District about the beginning of the present century, and that there were Dorobo in Mwea, not far from the territories of the Embu, Mbere, Gachugu and Ndia, in the vicinity, in fact, of two of the most important sacred groves of the two former tribes, is suggested by

[P. 192, A]

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *kwet* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sowiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 30 years ago, with the Uasin Gishu Masai; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, *chemisio* and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

[P.192, B]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Misiq acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. *Techniques*

1. Hunting

The dry weather, **ssssiosuik**, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *ilmit*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kaptherpkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (*korogut*) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumdo*, the wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*); and *Tirgut*, the giant hog or bush-pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).

4133 439 [325] [135] [276] 436 439 648 [231] 221 411 [231] 224 [415] [136]

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipuchet, blue duiker (cephalophus sequatorialis).
Mindet, red duiker (c. ignu-lanuci.)
Kerrenuit, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyalet, oribi
Kipenuwet, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224 Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andoroddo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Maũ, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondolè, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [361] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105 The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 411 In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *murúa*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease
the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw,
251 usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
• 439 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
231 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai
262 for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
[439] Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually
only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be
had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
[272] only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them
detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed
only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some
go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no
doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to
which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[271] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the
fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other
hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[415] From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not
drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved
by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe
salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing.
Women also like to chew the snuff.

/233 cont./

512 After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired [356] and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and [462] lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They [294] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps, [281] etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves 306 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy 439 the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the 323 462

Fig. 81. (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others, [171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into 000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

294 412 283 /233 cont./ As there,[1] the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (maramaog) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (asug). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own • 439 437 use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden with skins and also steppe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they [805] peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturalist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /234/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, others disdain it altogether, and therefore, in trading, they test each piece for smell and taste.

231 [889] Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the checking and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 82), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 120 centimeters long and /Fig. 82 appears here/ 30 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 25 centimeters. 231 322 412 They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through hewing with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a knife (pandyug). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out:

1. [i.e., among the Masai--Analyst]

/235 cont./
411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirie, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] [283] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [824] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [439] [285] The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] [535] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsettosong ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

/239 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Forcing the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest 171 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /240/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [684] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and 574 their fellow campmates confirm this intention by a feast correspond- ing to the ol geteñ l ol bɛ, in which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, [224] the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even [439] before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a slain female elephant with the tusk that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/240 cont./

583 are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
[439] a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
[601] with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-geteñ, bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-ger, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ba-suben, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow
587 the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however,
583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
[584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed persons dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as hunter for the ramainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[784] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /241/
[583] to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[171] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

837 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

582 Among the Asa the same marriage obstacles hold as among the
171 Masai, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

561 171 224 555 /244 cont./ elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again and again is elected kirigit.

881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these [425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush.

411 [561] [224] For the dobonog of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the El móran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow. The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] madíet, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya). [439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/245 cont./

411
• [439]

rarely also make themselves, as a rule has the so-called arrow shape. It bears either a short, flat tang, which is lengthened by insertion into a cylindrical one ten centimeters long, or else the latter and the point are worked continuously out of one piece. Now an and then one also finds arrows among which the extension tang is made out of wood. These come from Ukamba, where the Wandorobo, who call them mijerá, have bought them. The tang is stuck loosely in the arrow shaft so that the latter can fall off when the animal has been hit. Less frequently they use wooden throwing-spears (Fig. 86) with a loosely inserted, poisoned iron point, which, like the arrow point, remains sticking in the animal hit, while the wooden shaft falls off. They also attack the sleeping rhinoceros and hippopotamus with a sharp sword, which they tie on a stick and use as a thrusting or throwing spear. One leaves this weapon sticking in the wound so that, if the animal flees, it cuts the entrails still more by striking on the ground and against the bushes. Both types of spear are called mucháa. Both the point and tang of arrows and throwing spears bear a filed-in ownership mark (Plates 5 and 6), by which one can recognize tribe and lineage of the owner, in order, upon finding a slain head of game, to determine its hunter. Like the ownership marks on the cattle and donkeys of the Masai, the symbols here are not the same for all Wandorobo, but vary more or less in the individual

Fig. 85. (1/10)

[439]

[224]

422
[411]
[224]

Fig. 86. (1/10)

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Über Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heat Ailments" By L. Lewin and E. Stadelmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the
• [439] Wakabe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha technical and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch.
278 572 834 [444] During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The
[415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madi) or in a leather bag /341/ (ambia), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, [439] pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes [825] melanocis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it [777] along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 224 171 [178] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en dorik, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful [262] [224] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among [276] the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirigi, in which one recognizes the present Masai word en sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirigi spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

/251 cont./

IX.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing.

• 439 648 179 Cloth materials, such as are the tender of the caravan people in the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Asá. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans; rather, under pressure from the Masai, /252/ they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade: the Masai buy [wa ngovo] with force, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate this type of trade.

291 191 [511] One therefore sees the Asá almost solely in their original leather clothing (hide worked into leather, mpanga, mpandoi), which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but looks poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for the boys' and maids' capes, called e mpiti and en jorika by the Masai, which the Wandorobo name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in hunting the ol gela is too inconvenient because of its length. The dahonay otherwise do not generally wear the e mpiti, rather more often an en jorika made of calf hides, which they buy from the Masai; older men often have it made out of the hide of the female black-backed antelope. The caracara of the women is here called [561] [237] [439] ppa (pl. ppá), as is the upper part of it (ol ogiriaibo of the Masai) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Masai designation ol ogemana gemána (pl. gemanáe). The ol gela i ol murrah is here called ppa o dahona and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the en jorika. Sandals (mpika) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment 301 561 832 the poverty of the Asá is shown particularly among the dahonay, though one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

/304 cont./

[302] [301] The Wandoobbo only very rarely use number words, since they actually /222/ have nothing to count; the only thing suitable for this would be their beehives, and they do not count them, because -- as several people explained to me -- the bees would then no longer gather honey '8' -- as others opined -- would die. When, nevertheless, they need number words, they in general use, both in intercourse among themselves and with strangers (bees that we become familiar with above for the bimet, and, to be sure, in the same way and with the same hand or finger movements. As Ca people stated, all Ané and also the other Wandoobbo use these number words, which seems credible to me since I myself did not meet anyone who was not familiar with them. In addition, in the barter trade with agriculturalists, they have also assumed some of their number words and in part mutilated them into a form more suitable for them. Finally, among the Ané a few have kept their own, which, together with some borrowed from the Tsonga speech, are designated today as their own. They are the following:

[120] [192]

[339] [192]

[192]

1 = kinâ.	The index finger of the left hand is extended, the other fingers lie loosely in the hand.
2 = kêm.	Index finger and middle finger of the left hand are extended, the others as before.
3 = ximâ or xinâ.	Index finger, middle finger, and ring finger of the left hand are extended, the other as before.
4 = lê or lêy.	The four fingers of the left hand are extended, the thumb lies loosely in the hand.
5 = nîh.	The left hand is closed into a fist.
6 = lo.	The same signs as before, but executed with the right hand.
7 = loxîn.	
8 = lelî.	
9 = nukwalî.	
10 = ngwîgwî.	
11 = ngwîgwî kinâ.	
12 = ngwîgwî kêm.	
13 = ngwîgwî a nxwe	(or ngwîgwî a xwe).
20 = zîlîn.	